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ABSTRACT

The annual report on educational programs administered by the Advisory Commission on International Education and Cultural Affairs updates the activities summary to June, 1977 and summarizes Commission recommendations on funding, exchange programs, commission organization, and other ongoing programs. The report is presented in six sections. Section I presents recommendations, including that the State Department increase appropriations for international education, the President fill commission vacancies, and Congress begin hearings on establishment of a Western Hemisphere Center. Section II outlines appropriation and organizational problems. Section III considers exchange programs with the Middle East, Africa, and China; cultural relations with Canada; U.S. support of UNESCO; implementation of the Helsinki Agreement; and international athletic programs. In section IV, commission membership and related matters are discussed, including meetings and activities of individual members. The future of the Commission as an advisory board is probed in Section V, based upon the assumption that the United States Information Agency and State Department cultural exchange activities will be amalgamated. The final section is made up of appended material such as reports, recommendations, and other statements issued by, or on behalf of, the Commission. (Author/DB)

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The Thirteenth Report

U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs

JUNE 30, 1977

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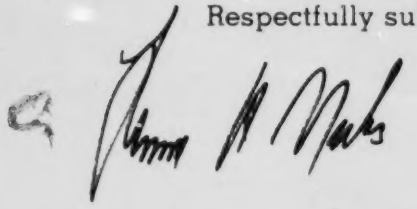
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

In accordance with the requirements of Section 107 of Public Law 87–256, the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs submits herewith the thirteenth of its regular reports to the Congress summarizing its activities of the previous year.

Respectfully submitted,



Leonard H. Marks
Chairman

August 1, 1977

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I. Summary and Recommendations

This thirteenth regular report of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs covers the Commission's activities from approximately May 1, 1976 to June 30, 1977. It deals with the matters noted immediately below and summarizes the specific recommendations which the Commission has made on them, either in this report or in previous statements.

A. *Funding.* The Commission repeats its annual statement that the State Department's appropriation for international educational and cultural exchange is inadequate and recommends that a minimum of $70.5 million be appropriated for fiscal year 1978. (Page 3.)

B. *Organization of the Commission.* The Commission welcomes the new Administration's expressed intention to devote more attention to "public diplomacy" in the conduct of its foreign affairs. So that it may cooperate fully and effectively on any new initiatives, the Commission has recommended that:

1. The President and the Senate act immediately to fill the two vacancies on the Commission and to reappoint or replace the five other members whose terms have expired. (Page 49.)

2. If the agencies which handle our international information, cultural, and educational activities are amalgamated, the Advisory Commission on Information and the Advisory Commission on Inter-

national Educational and Cultural Affairs be combined into one advisory body to serve the new agency. (Page 50.)

C. *Exchanges With Countries of the Middle East.* Conditions are unusually propitious for the development, at little additional cost to the United States, of highly influential exchanges with the increasingly important countries of the Middle East. Although our programs are generally well conceived and executed, some aspects of them need more attention. The Commission recommends that:

1. The processes for selecting and recruiting American grantees be refined and improved. (Appendix A; and the Commission's Special Report, *Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange Between the United States and Countries in the Middle East,* page 6.)

2. Better counseling for both American and foreign grantees be provided. (Appendix A; *Notes,* page 6.)

3. Steps be taken to reduce the "brain drain" from Egypt and Turkey. (Appendix A; *Notes,* page 5.)

4. Cultural Presentations be used in the area in a highly selective way. (Appendix A; *Notes,* page 5.)

5. The United States give increased emphasis to the teaching of English in Middle Eastern countries. (Appendix A; *Notes,* page 7.)

6. Steps be taken to redress the imbalance between Americans going to the Middle East on exchange grants and Middle Easterners coming to the United States. (Appendix A; *Notes,* page 9.)

7. A program be established under which Middle Eastern professors who have studied in the United

States can return for "sabbatical years." (Appendix A: *Notes*, page 9.)

8. The United States continue to support financially the American University in Cairo (AUC), the American University of Beirut (AUB), and Robert College in Istanbul. Specifically that Congress make an appropriation of $60 million for AUC from its holdings of surplus Egyptian currency. (Appendix A; *Notes*, page 23.)

9. The Foreign Buildings Operation take immediate steps to rehabilitate the USIS Cultural Center in Alexandria which was burned in 1967. (*Notes*, page 18.)

D. *Establishment of a Western Hemisphere Center.* A wide consensus exists among specialists on U.S.-Latin American cultural relations that the time has come to establish a center, similar to the East-West Center in Honolulu, to encourage scholarly communication among the countries of North America and Latin America. The Commission has recommended that:

1. Appropriate congressional committees begin hearings on the establishment of a "Western Hemisphere Center" whose purpose would be to provide a site where scholars, officials, and leaders from all Western Hemisphere nations can meet, communicate, coordinate activities, and, where appropriate, work together toward the solution of common problems. (Page 13.)

E. *U.S. Implementation of the Helsinki Agreement.* The provisions of the "Final Act" of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki agreement) which deal with the free flow of people, ideas, and information (Basket III) have increasingly engaged the attention of the public and the governments of the signatory countries. Results stemming from the Basket III proposals have, to date, been

disappointing, but they still offer unusual opportunities for the enhancement of educational and cultural exchange between the United States and Eastern European countries, which should be exploited as fully as possible. The Commission has recommended that:

1. The Congress make a special appropriation which will allow the United States to expand and increase its exchanges with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European nations. (Page 16.)

2. The U.S. Government reinstitute a "currency convertibility program" which will enable soft currency countries to purchase American cultural products in local currencies which the American exporter will then exchange for dollars through the U.S. Treasury.

F. *U.S. Cultural Relations With Canada.* The maintenance of cordial relations between the United States and Canada is of first priority for both countries. Recent legislation affecting the importation of students, professors, performing artists, and cultural materials has produced some strains on the relationship on both sides of the border. To keep them at a minimum Americans must understand Canada's desire to preserve its national identity and offer its citizens a "Canadian choice" in cultural materials; and Canadians must understand that there is no sinister motive behind the penetration of Canada by U.S. media. Fortunately officials of both countries are aware of the problems and are approaching them sensibly. The Commission has recommended that:

1. The U.S. Government not adopt, in apparent retaliation for Canadian legislation, measures which would restrict the importation of Canadian cultural materials. (Appendix B.)

2. Canada and the United States continue to resolve their differences in this area through calm and candid discussion. (Appendix B.)

3. An official U.S. exchange program be continued and, if possible, increased. (Appendix B.)

G. *U.S. Support of UNESCO.* At its General Conference in November 1976, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) postponed decision on a "Declaration of Principles" on the gathering and dissemination of news which embodied restrictions on the free flow of information and was therefore unacceptable to the United States. Earlier it had taken measures to counteract "anti-Israeli" resolutions which gave evidence that it was becoming highly politicized. In light of these actions suggesting that the organization was once again concerning itself solely with the matters contemplated in its charter, the Commission, while cautioning UNESCO against any further politically motivated actions, recommended that:

1. The Congress appropriate the $69.3 million required to regularize the status of the United States in the organization, so that it could participate fully in all UNESCO activities. (Page 25; Appendix C.)

However, since similar problems in the U.S. relationship to UNESCO may arise before the organization's next General Conference in late 1978, the Commission will be alert to developments and recommends that:

2. A member of the Commission be appointed as a member or observer of the U.S. delegation to that General Conference. (Page 26.)

H. *U.S. Support of the United Nations University.* The United Nations University has begun operations. The United States has not contributed to it financially, although it supported its establishment and at least tacitly encouraged Japan to make a major contribution. While fully aware that the university may not fulfill

the high hopes of its founders, the Commission has recommended that:

1. The U.S. Government make a one-time appropriation of $10 million for support of the United Nations University. (Page 26.)

I. *Appraisal of On-Going Programs.* Political and social developments during the year suggested that the Commission review the State Department's exchanges with Africa and the People's Republic of China, and its international athletic programs. In each case the Commission found the programs responsive to needs and well coordinated with private efforts. Aside from noting that each program (as indeed all our exchange programs) could be improved if more funding were available, the Commission has made no specific recommendations on any of the three.

II. Introduction

Regular readers of the annual reports of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs will have detected over the years a similarity of theme in their introductions. In one way or another, with degrees of intensity ranging from mild observation to indignant accusation, they have pointed out that the importance of international educational and cultural exchange to our foreign policy has never been adequately recognized—particularly in terms of appropriations.

The successive Commissions have had their "up" moments and their "down" moments on this subject. Thus the Commission's first report, issued in April 1963, was appropriately entitled *A Beacon of Hope*; its sixth report, however, issued in 1969, was plaintively titled *Is Anyone Listening*; and the title of its eleventh, *A Necessary and a Noble Task*, issued in 1975, managed to convey at one and the same time hope and despair. Though the titles and the tones of the reports have changed, the underlying theme has almost always been that the beacon of hope represented by international exchange has not penetrated the surrounding darkness as deeply as it should have.

The three reports with which members of the present Commission have been associated reflect the up-and-down spirits of their predecessors. Our *Eleventh Report*, noting with satisfaction the steady rise in appropriations for the State Department's programs (from $31,425,000 in 1969 to $54,300,000 in 1975) and the growing acceptance of the reality of an interdependent world, stated optimistically:

> As acceptance of this reality has grown, so too has recognition of the role international educational and cultural exchange can play in reconstituting the human community . . . The climate is more conducive than it has been for the development of effective exchange programs.

A year later we were less sanguine about the growing acceptance of the reality of an interdependent world; and we were downright concerned about the State Department's exchange budget. On the first point, our *Twelfth Report* said:

> There were during the year a good many developments in our relations with other countries to suggest that perhaps the growing interdependence of the world, on which we insisted so strongly in our *Eleventh Report*, had fallen victim to renascent nationalisms . . .

On the second point it noted with alarm that the 1976 appropriation for the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU) of the State Department of $58 million meant in practical terms, because of increasing costs, a substantial reduction in the size of the exchange program. We estimated that an appropriation of $90 million would be required to sustain a program at the 1966 level—and by implication recommended funding in at least that amount.

Now, one year later, we still feel that the CU budget is too small and have stated our belief that it should be increased. The Chairman spoke for the Commission when he testified as follows on February 28, 1977, before the House Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations:

> My purpose in appearing here today is to support the appropriation request of the Department of State for the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs in the amount of $70,500,000 for the next fiscal year. It is my considered opinion that the work of this Bureau is of vital importance to the resolution of some of the complex political problems which the United States faces in its relations with other countries. My experience as Director of the United States Information Agency [1965–69], and my relations with the Department of State during the past several years as Chairman of the Advisory Commission have convinced me that cultural and educational exchange is an indispensable aid to the achievement of our foreign policy objectives.

Our first recommendation in this *Thirteenth Report* is that the Congress appropriate *as a minimum* for the exchange program the $70.5 million which the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) has authorized the Department to request.

But once again we feel encouraged to believe that the importance of "public diplomacy," of which international exchange is an important part, is gaining the recognition it deserves in our foreign policy. We do not believe that this is a partisan development attributable solely to a change in Administrations; and yet it is true that the new Administration appears ready to breathe new life into the exchange program. Here are the main reasons why we are once more optimistic.

- The appropriation situation is promising. The House has authorized an appropriation of $75.5 million, the Senate $80.5 million. The House Appropriations Committee has, disappointingly, reported out a recommendation for only $66.5 million; but the Senate Appropriations Committee has not yet been heard from. When these disparities are ironed out, we trust that the Department will receive, as we have recommended, all (or more than) it has requested.

- Organizational problems which have hampered the operation of our international cultural programs appear on the way to resolution. The Commission called attention to these in March 1975 in a report which it instigated, *International Information, Education and Cultural Relations: Recommendations for the Future*. Three months later, the Murphy Commission focused attention on them in its report, *Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs*, noting:

> The ability of this country to make its views prevail and its policies succeed will derive less from its wealth and power, and more from such respect and support as the rest of the world accords to its values and purposes; however, neither foreign policy advocacy nor the building of long-range understanding between the United States and other nations is now being handled with full effectiveness.

Now the new Administration has made it clear that it intends to tackle the problem. The General Accounting Office has prepared for Congress a detailed analysis of the former report. The United States Information Agency (USIA) has defined its position on reorganization, and the State Department has done likewise. A proposed amendment by Senator Percy to the Department's appropriation bill has precipitated action in the Senate; and in the House, hearings have begun on the various reorganization proposals. It is therefore reasonable to expect that by the end of this year our government will be better organized to exploit the possibilities of public diplomacy.

• Public awareness of, and support for, international exchange, have continued to mount. There is abundant evidence of this interest, none more striking than the media coverage accorded to the symposium held last May in Washington to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the "Fulbright Program." News stories, editorials, and TV commentary praised its past and pled for its future in terms like this from a *Newsweek* editorial:

> Now, as the Fulbright-Hays program . . . observes its thirtieth anniversary . . . the need for such continuing educational exchange is unquestioned—and imperative. Unquestioned because of its consistent success over the years; imperative because the peace and progress of mankind are now, more than ever in the past, linked to the civilizing and humanizing of relations between nations.

• Most encouraging of all, President Carter himself has, in word and deed, demonstrated a commitment to the principle and the practice of international exchange which must set the tone for his Administration. It was characteristic of him that in his inaugural speech he addressed not only his fellow Americans but also "citizens of the world," on the theme of shaping "a world order that is more responsive to human operations." Subsequently he gave proof that these were not idle words by, for example: his vigorous personal participation in cultural events; his clear

emphasis on the place human rights will play in the formation of U.S. foreign policy, his espousal of a "Friendship Force" which would extend to thousands of Americans the people-to-people experience he himself had found so useful. Above all the Commission is encouraged by his promise to the Organization of American States (OAS), quoted later in this report, that "we plan to explore with your governments new people-to-people programs, an increase in professional and scientific exchanges, and other ways of strengthening the ties that already link us." It is again characteristic of the President that scarcely 6 weeks after making this promise he sent Mrs. Carter to Latin America to, as he put it, "elaborate some of the new directions contained in my OAS speech and to discuss with Latin American leaders ways in which we can cooperate most effectively to advance them."

The Commission naturally welcomes the Administration's apparent intention to accord educational and cultural exchange a more prominent role in the conduct of foreign affairs and is eager to cooperate in the ways envisaged by its enabling legislation.

The Commission's observations and recommendations on subjects which have concerned it during the past year—and for several previous years—are summarized in Chapter I (Summary and Recommendations) and Chapter III (Report on Activities) of this report. In Chapter V (The Future of the Commission), it has recommended a review of the Commission's responsibilities and appointments consistent with them.

It is our hope that this *Thirteenth Report* of the Commission will do more than provide a record of a year's activity. We hope, rather, that it will suggest to the Executive Branch and the Congress new ways in which the Commission can make a real contribution to an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy—one to which the new Administration has wisely decided to give a high priority.

III. Report on Activities

This was a year of continuations and conclusions for the Commission.

The first part of its mandate calls on the Commission to "formulate and recommend to the President policies for exercising his authority under this Act." Of the six subjects on which we made recommendations, only one—exchanges with countries of the Middle East—was initiated and concluded since our last report. The other five had been under study for periods ranging from 1 to 3 years. They were: the establishment of a "Western Hemisphere Center"; U.S. implementation of the Helsinki agreement; cultural relations with Canada; U.S. support of UNESCO; and U.S. support of the United Nations University.

The second part of the Commission's mandate calls on it to appraise the effectiveness of programs. We reviewed three this year: our international athletic programs; exchanges with Africa; and exchanges with the People's Republic of China. Our study of the last was a return engagement; the others were investigated by the Commission for the first time.

Our actions, observations, and recommendations on these nine subjects are outlined in the following pages.

Exchanges With Countries of the Middle East

Since its earliest days, the Commission has recognized that to fulfill its responsibilities under the enabling legislation, its members must have firsthand

knowledge of our programs overseas and the climate in which they operate; consequently, members have regularly made familiarization trips abroad to areas which were of particular significance to U.S. foreign policy. In August 1975, for example, a Commission delegation visited Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. (*Twelfth Report*, pages 13–25.)

By the summer of 1976, the Middle East had become the focus of public attention in this country. A series of developments in the Arab-Israeli conflict and the energy crisis precipitated by actions of the oil-producing states had brought home to Americans the necessity for harmonious interdependence with the nations of the Middle East. While the political and economic aspects of the situation were not a direct concern of the Commission, they were accompanied by developments in the educational and cultural field which certainly were. U.S.-Egyptian cultural relations were beginning to flourish again after a 7-year interruption; the Arab States and Iran, using their new-found oil wealth to educate their elite and train their masses, were looking more and more to the United States for guidance and help; the number of students sent from these countries to American universities had increased dramatically from an estimated 17,260 in 1974 to an estimated 38,000 in 1977; in Turkey the once predominantly American influence on Turkish education appeared to be on the wane, the victim of growing Turkish nationalism. The Commission felt that the situation called for first-hand investigation.

Accordingly, on November 4, 1976, Commission Chairman Leonard H. Marks, Commissioner William French Smith, and the Commission's Staff Director, William E. Weld, Jr., embarked on a month-long trip to the Middle East to survey exchange programs and ascertain how educational and cultural exchange might contribute to the promotion of better relations between the United States and the Middle East. They visited 13 cities in 6 countries: Cairo and Alexandria in Egypt; Jidda and Riyadh in Saudi Arabia; Kuwait;

Abu Dhabi, Dubai, and Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates; Shiraz, Isfahan, and Tehran in Iran; Istanbul and Ankara in Turkey. They met formally with 75 foreign officials in a series of 44 meetings; and they talked informally with at least 150 more. They spoke with some 30 American teachers and professors who were participants in exchange programs. They were advised by 33 U.S. officials—at nine diplomatic missions—including five Ambassadors, one Charge d'Affaires, nine Public Affairs Officers, and seven Cultural Affairs Officers.

Their principal observations and recommendations stemming from discussions with these well-informed authorities are summarized in Appendix A and in the first chapter of this report. It would therefore be redundant to repeat them here, and we limit ourselves to noting that Mr. Marks and Mr. Smith found conditions unusually propitious for the development, at little additional cost to the United States, of exchange programs which can be expected to make an important contribution to the development of mutual understanding.

This conclusion, the reasoning behind it, and supporting observations are thoroughly discussed in a 30,000-word report prepared by Mr. Marks and Mr. Smith on their return to the United States. The report, entitled *Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange Between the United States and Countries in the Middle East*, was submitted to the President, the Speaker of the House, and the President of the Senate on March 17, 1977, together with a letter of transmittal which summarized the report's findings (Appendix A). This report was printed as a Congressional document on June 2, 1977, (Executive Communication 1088) by order of the House Committee on International Relations.

Copies were also sent to officials of the State Department; to U.S. Embassies abroad which the Commission delegation had visited; to Embassies in Washington of the countries visited; to institutions, like the Institute of International Education and the American

Friends of the Middle East, which had a direct interest in exchanges with the Middle East; and to many interested individuals. And the main observations and recommendations of the report were given wide dissemination through their publication in the Spring 1977 number of *Exchange* magazine.

Reactions to the report have been gratifying to the Commission. Some illustrations:

- The Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Programs of the Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs has made a careful study of the report with a view to implementing virtually all of its recommendations, notably that of a sabbatical year in the United States for Middle East professors, and has expressed its appreciation for what it describes as "a most perceptive, well-written and useful report."

- The management group of the Institute of International Education has done likewise, on the recommendation of its Vice President, who termed it "one of the best reports of its kind I have ever read."

- Our Ambassadors in Abu Dhabi and Ankara commented in detail on the report's recommendations affecting the countries in which they serve, generally expressing agreement and approval.

- Foreign Ambassadors in Washington also commented favorably: e.g., the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia: "I found the section on Saudi Arabia to be most constructive." The Ambassador of Iran: "Thank you for your valuable achievement and contribution toward educational and cultural exchange between our two countries."

Establishment of a "Western Hemisphere Center"

Of the five subjects of major concern on which the Commission this year made final recommendations,

none was longer under investigation than the possible establishment of a "North-South Center." The Commission's interest in the idea goes back to its visit in March 1974 to the East-West Center in Honolulu. This started it to wondering whether a similar institution, where representatives of Western Hemisphere nations could meet to discuss mutual problems, might not be similarly useful. For the next 3 years it returned periodically to the question; and in fact as long ago as November 21, 1975, it recommended that Congress begin hearings with a view to introducing legislation for the establishment of such an institution. Its deliberations are summarized in the Commission's *Eleventh Report* (pages 8–12), and its *Twelfth Report* (pages 26–29), under the rubric of North-South Center, as we then referred to the proposal.

Shortly after President Carter was inaugurated, it became clear that the new Administration would be deeply involved in formulating a new Latin American policy. On March 24, 1977, the Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs assured the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs that "President Carter has shown an unprecedented interest in Latin America." Less than a month later, on April 14, the President indicated that his interest in Latin America transcended the customary political, economic relationships: Speaking to the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States (OAS), the President said:

> . . . intellectual, social, cultural, and educational exchanges [between the United States and Latin American countries] will continue either with or without government help. But there are steps that governments can take to speed up and enhance this process. In the months ahead, therefore, we plan to explore with your governments new people-to-people programs, an increase in professional and scientific exchanges, and other ways of strengthening the ties that already link us.

The Commission had anticipated this interest. In late February it asked one of its members, Mrs. Beryl Milburn, to undertake a trip to representative Latin

American countries. Between February 27 and March 15, Mrs. Milburn visited Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Lima, Bogota, and Mexico City. She spoke with more than 50 government officials, university and educational leaders, and U.S. Embassy officers about the feasibility of establishing a center in the Western Hemisphere similar to the East-West Center. In a written report of her findings, Mrs. Milburn noted that a number of questions about the establishment of a Western Hemisphere Center had been raised by the specialists she consulted; but her general observation on Latin American reaction was:

> Latin American leaders generally welcomed any programs to encourage work on mutual problems and were very receptive to the idea of an institution that would bring together intellectuals, scholars and professionals from all countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Mrs. Milburn's report, coupled with the demonstrated interest of the Carter Administration in developing new initiatives in U.S.-Latin American relations, convinced the Commission that it should determine without delay its final recommendation on the subject of a Western Hemisphere Center. It therefore invited to a meeting on April 25, 1977, a large number of people who had previously shown an interest in the subject. Representatives of the State Department were of course present. In addition we heard statements from representatives of the Universities of Texas, Florida, and Pittsburgh; from Wilmington (Delaware) College; from Ambassador Hewson Ryan, formerly Ambassador to Honduras and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, presently Ambassador in Residence at the Fletcher School of War and Diplomacy; from Dr. Eduardo Gonzalez-Reyes, Executive Secretary for Education, Science and Culture, Organization of American States; from representatives of the Inter-American Foundation and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; and from advisors to Senator Jacob Javits and Congressman Dante Fascell. Many of these witnesses presented rather fully devel-

oped plans; some endorsed the concept without elaborating on it; others depicted the problems to be overcome before a center could be successfully established.

In short, the meeting admirably complemented Mrs. Milburn's research and previous investigations by the Commission. At its conclusion we felt that we had before us all the elements which should be weighed in reaching a decision for or against the concept and many of the problems which must be resolved before the project could become a reality. Since the Commission's function is advisory—not operational—we decided that the most helpful course we could pursue was to recommend action by agencies with operational responsibilities and give them the benefit of our previous research as a guide to concrete action on our general recommendation. Consequently, at a meeting on June 13, 1977, the Commission approved a two-part statement to be sent to the International Relations Committee of the House, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, the President, and the Department of State. The first part summarized in these words its recommendation and the reasons for it:

> As the length of our study suggests, we discovered that the question is complex. We found among those with a particular interest in U.S.-Latin American relations a wide consensus that a "Western Hemisphere Center" could, if properly conceived and operated, make an important contribution to improved communication among nations, which is, we believe, the basis for improved mutual understanding. But we did not find agreement on details of its organization, funding, function and location.
>
> We nevertheless believe that the moment is propitious for the launching of the idea . . . We believe that it should be examined *now*, while the new Administration is working out the details of its new Latin American policy, by those who are in a position to take action on it . . . We therefore recommend that the appropriate Congressional committee begin hearings as soon as it can to determine how the establishment of a center of the kind we propose would serve our national interest.

The second part of the statement, "Recommendation for the establishment of a Western Hemisphere Center," expanded as follows on its recommendation.

The Advisory Commission recommends the establishment of an institution to be called "The Western Hemisphere Center." Its basic purpose would be to provide a site (or sites) where scholars, officials, and leaders from Western Hemisphere nations can meet, communicate, coordinate activities, and, where appropriate, work together toward the solution of common problems.

We believe the following conditions are essential to its success.

- That it be inter-American in its governing board, faculty, and staff.
- That it draw together the finest available talent to discuss, conduct research, and recommend alternative courses of action on problems of inter-American concern.
- That it be jointly funded by participating nations.
- That it be associated with a major research center in the United States, with subsidiary centers elsewhere in the Hemisphere if this appears on further study to be desirable.
- That it be a "problem-oriented" institution, rather than one with a specific curriculum leading to the granting of academic degrees.

The remainder of the statement listed, for the guidance of a committee undertaking the hearings, "Problems to be Resolved," and "Some Proposals to Consider."

This two-part document was sent to the Congress and the Executive Branch on June 14, 1977. Its dispatch terminated the Commission's 3-year concern with a topic which we obviously believe to be of great potential significance to the improvement of U.S.-Latin American understanding. We leave the subject with the hope that our recommendation will be acted upon promptly and constructively.

This hope has been encouraged by the interest of the Subcommittee on International Operations of the House International Relations Committee, chaired by Congressman Dante Fascell. On June 13, 1977, the subcommittee heard the Commission Chairman recommend that hearings on the establishment of a Western Hemisphere Center be initiated. It expressed satisfaction at having the recommendation on record

and indicated its intention to take appropriate action on it.

U.S. Implementation of the Helsinki Agreement

The Commission was, we believe, one of the first organizations to point out the potential significance to U.S. cultural relations of Basket III of the Helsinki agreement (i.e., the chapter on "Cooperation in Humanitarian and other Fields" in the "Final Act" of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, signed in Helsinki on August 1, 1975). The report on the subject prepared by two Commissioners and the two meetings held by the Commission—one with publishers, one with film and theater people—to stimulate U.S. action in response to the provisions of Basket III were outlined in our *Twelfth Report* (pages 13–25).

During this reporting period, the Commission is pleased to note that agencies with operational responsibilities—as opposed to the Commission's advisory responsibilities—quite properly preempted the Commission as monitors and implementors of the provisions of the accord. Chief among these was the Congressional/Executive Branch Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe established in September 1975 by a bill introduced by Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick. Under the Chairmanship of Congressman Dante Fascell, this precedent-shattering Commission has actively and effectively pursued its instructions to "monitor the acts of the signatories . . . with particular regard to the provisions relating to Cooperation in Humanitarian Fields." Nevertheless, because of its early interest in Basket III, and because of the increasing importance Basket III has assumed in U.S. preparations for the follow-up conference to be held in Belgrade this June, the Commission continued throughout the year to promote, to the extent its advisory role allows, constructive U.S. action on the

provisions of Basket III which affect international educational and cultural exchange.

Its activities in this area break down into two general categories: 1) statements by the Chairman to develop awareness among officials and the public of the significance of Basket III; and 2) continued Commission support for projects implementing the agreement, such as: the establishment of a currency convertibility program to encourage the sale abroad of American cultural materials; an increased program of exchanges with the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries; the establishment of an American bookstore in Moscow; and increased circulation of *America* magazine in the U.S.S.R. These efforts are outlined in the following paragraphs.

1. The Chairman took the following actions:

• He made Basket III the focal point of speeches he delivered at the final dinner of participants in exchanges organized by the Council of International Programs, at the annual meeting of People-to-People International, and before members of the "Secretary's Open Forum" in the State Department.

• In testimony before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives he referred as follows to the Helsinki agreement:

> I urge this Committee to consider a special appropriation earmarked specifically for projects with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations . . . Reciprocally, we should welcome talent from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to our country . . . We are not doing enough in these fields, and I would urge the Department of State to come forward with specific programs of this nature, for which I hope that your Committee will be able to provide funds.

In thanking the Chairman for his testimony, Congressman Fascell, who chaired the meeting, noted, "Let me just say that because of your persuasiveness the Subcommittee on International Operations added $5 million [to the CU budget request], specifically at

your suggestion, to help carry out some of the programs you recommended."

• He wrote an article for the *Washington Post* (August 1, 1976), "The Unfulfilled Promise of Helsinki," summarizing Commission recommendations for action as follows:

> First, we should make clear that the United States gives the subject (Basket III) the very highest priority.
>
> Second, we should put forward specific proposals for implementing Basket III. These proposals should be publicized widely in this country, in Europe, and to audiences in Communist countries. Our proposals should be pragmatic, realizable, designed to attract the support of influential young professionals in Communist lands.

The article then listed seven such proposals.

• He met personally with many U.S. officials to inform them of the Commission's views on the agreement, including: President Ford and his Counselor, Philip Buchen; Vice-President Rockefeller's aide, Governor Raymond P. Shafer; Secretary of State Cyrus Vance; Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, John Richardson; Senators Claiborne Pell, Hubert Humphrey, and Frank Church; Congressmen Clement Zablocki, Dante Fascell, of the House International Relations Committee; and Congressmen John Slack and Elford Cederberg of the House Appropriations Committee.

• He represented the Commission—and the United States—at two high-level conferences devoted to a discussion of the Helsinki agreement: in November 1976, a conference in Hamburg organized by Bergerdorfer Gespraechskreis, at which he debated Georgi Arbatov, Head of the U.S.S.R.'s Institute of U.S.A. and Canadian Studies; in April 1977, an Aspen Institute conference in Berlin, which he also initiated and helped to organize. He also chaired in March 1977 a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association in New York at which the Soviet exile Vladimir Bukovsky spoke.

• He appeared in May 1977 before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe when it heard

testimony on Basket III. The concluding paragraph of his prepared statement expressed the Commission's present view of the results of Helsinki:

> . . . Though I have been disappointed in the results stemming from the Basket III proposals, I am not discouraged. And I hope the American people are not. I believe profoundly in the importance to international relations of people-to-people diplomacy. This is the essence of the proposals in Basket III; and Basket III is the only section of the Helsinki agreement which predicates the participation of people, as opposed to governments, in the improvement of international relations. I am therefore convinced that the United States and its allies were right to insist that "Cooperation in Humanitarian and other Fields" be made an integral part of the "Final Act." We should not allow our early disappointment with the Soviet's performance to deter us from keeping the subject at the top of our agenda for discussions with them.

2. The Commission recommended in its Special Report to the Congress, entitled *The Effects of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the Cultural Relations of the United States and Eastern Europe*, that "The United States Government should reinstitute a program which permits Eastern European publishers, book sellers and film distributors to purchase American media products with their own currencies." Such a program, known as the Informational Media Guaranty (IMG) program, was operated by the United States Information Agency from 1953 to 1966, when Congress discontinued appropriations for it. The Commission felt that reinstitution of a similar program would be one concrete measure which the United States might take to demonstrate its adherence to "the spirit of Helsinki."

Subsequently, the U.S. Government Committee on International Book and Library Programs (GAC) and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe made similar recommendations. Since the former was better placed than our Commission to advise on a currency convertibility program (as it was now called), and the latter to take action, the Commission was prepared to bow out. However, because of its early

association with the concept, the Commission desired to see the matter concluded with a final, specific recommendation. It therefore accepted the invitation of the GAC to cooperate in a joint meeting at which the project could be thoroughly examined.

The joint meeting took place in Washington on February 17, 1977. So great was the interest in the subject that more than 30 invited specialists and interested observers participated. The basic idea of a program to encourage sale of U.S. cultural materials abroad through a U.S. Government guaranty to convert to dollars any soft currencies accepted in payment for such materials was almost uniformly supported—by the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the National Science Foundation, the American Society for Engineering Education, the American Institute of Physics, the International Division of the Association of American Publishers, the Motion Picture Association of America, the Recording Industry Association of America, and others. Former State and USIA officers who had seen the IMG program in operation in Eastern Europe attested to its success in increasing sales of U.S. products. However, representatives of these latter agencies were also quick to note that there were three major problems which would have to be resolved before a successful currency convertibility program could be reinstituted: the selection of appropriate materials to be exported under a U.S. Government program; the program's financing; and the uses to which accumulated soft currencies could be put by the U.S. Government in participating countries.

Members of the Commission and the GAC, recognizing that these essential questions could not be answered immediately but encouraged by support of the concept, agreed that further study should be made into the feasibility of a currency convertibility program. Shortly after the meeting, the Association of American Publishers (AAP) contracted for a study which would lead to a definite plan of action. The AAP proposal was completed shortly before this report went to press.

It sets forth a plan which will enable soft currency countries to purchase U.S. products in local currency which the American exporter will then exchange for dollars through the U.S. Treasury. The soft currencies which accumulate will, in turn, be used to provide programs designed to implement other provisions of the accords. The operation of the plan in any country is based upon a bilateral agreement between the Government of the United States and that of the participating country.

The Commission has not had time to study the details of this plan, but we believe that it, or one embodying its basic feature, would give concrete evidence of this country's intention to promote the letter and spirit of Basket III of the Helsinki agreement. We recommend that some program along these lines be reinstituted.

U.S. Cultural Relations With Canada

The Commission's interest in U.S.-Canadian cultural relations goes back more than 2 years to its meeting on the subject on April 11, 1975. Our *Twelfth Report* noted some of the strains in the Canadian-American relationship and reported the Commission's hope that it might soon meet with Canadian officials to examine how—or whether—cultural and educational exchange might be used more effectively to help reduce tensions.

In the months following release of the *Twelfth Report*, both the Canadian and American Governments passed, implemented, or projected legislation which bore rather directly on the Commission's concerns. For example, Canadians were finding the U.S. immigration act of several years ago an irritant to Canadian performers wishing to appear in the United States. A new immigration act introduced by the Canadian Government in November 1976 had provisions concern-

ing visitors which were of direct concern to Americans wishing to study in Canada. Its "Foreign Investment Act" affected American book publishers in Canada; and Bill C-58, passed by the Canadian Parliament on January 1, 1976, enacted two provisions directly affecting the cross-border broadcasting of American radio and television stations.

In that very month a Gallup poll showed that 47 percent of all Americans thought Canada was the country with which it was most important for us to "strengthen ties." Canadians appeared to agree. They marked our Bicentennial by sending many of their best cultural attractions to the United States and by increasing their attention to the promotion of Canadian studies in U.S. universities. The efforts to make Canada better known in the United States culminated in a symposium in Washington, January 24 to April 7, 1977, entitled "20th Century Canadian Culture," a project of the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. In short, developments of the last year only heightened the Commission's desire to take a closer look at our country's educational and cultural relations with our closest ally.

We therefore accepted an invitation from the Canadian Government to meet with its officials in Ottawa on February 18, 1977. The day-long program of meetings and supplementing social events began at 8:30 a.m. with a breakfast at which Commission members were the guests of the Secretary of State, Mr. John Roberts. It concluded at midnight with a dinner hosted by the Under Secretary of State, Mr. André Fortier. Morning and afternoon working sessions were broken by a luncheon presided over by Mr. Marcel Prud'homme, M.P., Chairman of the External Affairs and National Defense Committee of Parliament; and they were immediately followed by a reception given by the American Deputy Chief of Mission, Mr. Robert Duemling. These events afforded us useful opportunities to supplement the insights we gained at the

regular meetings through individual discussions with Canadian educational, cultural, and media leaders.

Our two sessions with Canadian officials were opened by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Donald Jamieson, and were chaired by the Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pierre-André Bissonnette. He was joined on the Canadian delegation by colleagues who were specialists on each agenda item. Although our talks were "informal" in the sense that no formal commitments were to emerge from the discussions, the carefully prepared presentations of these specialists and the candor with which they replied to our questions gave us authoritative and reliable Canadian opinion on the subjects we discussed together. These included: existing programs for the exchange of students, professors, and performing arts groups; Canadian and American patterns of education; cultural matters of mutual concern, such as the importation of books, magazines, films, and television programs; and multilateral questions—like the Helsinki agreement, the activities of UNESCO and the formation of a United Nations University—in which both countries have an interest.

The Commission's principal observations stemming from the examination of these subjects are outlined in a letter to the Secretary of State. It is carried as Appendix B to this report and therefore needs no elaboration here. In acknowledging this letter for Secretary of State Vance, the Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs wrote to the Chairman: "The Commission's perceptive insights into the U.S.-Canadian relationship, as well as its more specific recommendations, will be very useful to us as we formulate the educational and cultural program with Canada in the next few years."

Detailed minutes of the meeting were compiled. These, as well as the letter to the Secretary of State, were sent to the Canadian Department of External Affairs and to the Canadian Embassy. We trust that these records will help to develop among those respon-

sible for Canadian-American cultural relations improved understanding of the objectives, problems, and possibilities for each side in the conduct of exchange programs.

Canadian views on U.S.-Canadian cultural relations and the Commission's comments on the meeting were featured in the Spring 1977 number of *Exchange* magazine, and thus reached a wide public.

The Commission considers the meeting a success. For this we are indebted to the Canadian officials who planned it so thoroughly and conducted it with such efficiency and understanding. Because we are so indebted to them, we would like to hope that one of them spoke for all when he wrote the Chairman:

> . . . [The Ottawa meeting] confirmed beyond any shadow of doubt that the more we engage in dialogue at every level, the better the Canada-United States relationship will be. On our part we were delighted to have had the opportunity to receive such illustrious Americans and to sense the genuine interest and friendship that went hand in hand with all the exchanges of viewpoint.

U.S. Support of UNESCO

Throughout the period covered by our *Twelfth Report*, the Commission was concerned with the apparent politicization of UNESCO and what the U.S. reaction to this should be. (See the *Twelfth Report*, pages 36–37). By the end of that period, it seemed that the organization was on the point of rectifying actions it had previously taken which had caused the suspension of U.S. financial support, and that the United States would therefore regularize its relationships. This had been our hope—and indeed our recommendation—and we assumed that the issue was closed so far as the Commission was concerned. The assumption proved to be incorrect.

We learned early in the summer that at its General Conference, to be held in Nairobi in November, UNESCO would have on its agenda a discussion, prepared

by a UNESCO-organized committee of experts, of a "Declaration of Principles" on the gathering and dissemination of news. The Declaration embodied limitations, which were unacceptable to the United States, on the free flow of information; nevertheless, it was clear that the Declaration had the support of some UNESCO officials and of voting blocs which had earlier been responsible for passage of resolutions which had raised the question of UNESCO's politicization. This suggested again that UNESCO was tending to follow a political course, rather than dedicating itself to the cultural, scientific, and educational pursuits contemplated by its charter. The Commission, aware from previous experience of the unfortunate effect such a course would have on this country's international cultural relations, decided it should reexamine the U.S. relationship to UNESCO.

As a first step, the Chairman spoke twice with the Director General of UNESCO and with the U.S. Permanent Representative, once in Paris, and once in Washington. Although the Director General's personal approach to the handling of the "Declaration of Principles" was constructive, the Chairman still felt the situation merited the attention of the full Commission. He called a meeting on August 25, 1976, to consider what action the Commission should then take.

At this meeting we heard testimony from the Deputy Assistant Director of the State Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs, Donald R. Toussaint, and from the Executive Secretary of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, John E. Upston. They were generally reassuring on steps UNESCO had taken to correct previous actions which appeared to be politically motivated, and both recommended continued U.S. participation in, and support for, the organization. The Commission, however, felt that it should issue a strong statement which: expressed the deep concern of the Commission at the continuing evidence of politicization of UNESCO (e.g., the "Declaration of

Principles"); indicated its deep desire that UNESCO take issues of this nature very seriously since they strike at the roots of U.S. participation in UNESCO; suggested that our future actions would be determined by what occurs at the General Conference in Nairobi.

The final statement approved by the Commission is carried in Appendix C. It was released to the press on October 20, 1976, and copies were sent to each member of the U.S. delegation to the General Conference in Nairobi. One member acknowledged receipt in these words:

> Thank you for sending me copies of your Commission's statement on UNESCO . . . I deeply appreciate the valuable assistance and guidance that we have received from groups such as your Commission. It is the interest and support of people like you which help us to deal constructively with the issues before us . . .

Mr. Toussaint informed the Chairman that the statement had had considerable impact on the delegates. It was also referred to in a *Washington Post* article on October 31; and it elicited favorable comment from a number of other people.

No definitive action on the "Declaration of Principles" was taken at Nairobi; the Conference simply passed a resolution that further study of news dissemination be undertaken. This encouraged the Commission to believe that the organization was continuing its efforts to curb politically motivated actions and act responsibly on matters within its purview. Thus, when it learned that the House Subcommittee on International Operations was to hold hearings on February 16, 1977, on the U.S. financial contribution to UNESCO, it authorized the Chairman to cable the committee a statement to be incorporated into its hearings. After summarizing previous Commission actions on UNESCO the cable read:

> Commission believes UNESCO took concrete steps at General Conference to eliminate politicization its actions. It therefore now strongly supports Secretary Vance's request for appropriation of $69.3 million so that U.S. can play role envisaged for it in the Organization. It does so in the belief

that UNESCO is now in a position to contribute as it should to world-wide peace by promoting dialogue, cooperation and understanding among all nations through education, science and culture.

Since then, the U.S. Government has indicated that it does intend to participate fully in UNESCO activities; thus the crisis of the last 2 years seems to have been successfully negotiated. However, it is well within the realm of possibility that problems will again arise in the U.S. relationship to the organization. In fulfillment of its mandate to advise the President on policies affecting our international cultural activities, the Commission will, of course, be alert to developments which occur between now and UNESCO's next General Conference, in late 1978, and recommends that one of its members be appointed as a delegate, or an observer, to that conference.

U.S. Support of the United Nations University

The Commission's interest in the relationship of the United States to the United Nations University (UNU) goes back to July 1975, when it first recommended U.S. Government financial support of the fledgling institution. It repeated its recommendation 3 months later on October 1, 1975, in a letter sent to members of the House and Senate committees dealing with foreign affairs. (See *Twelfth Report*, pages 38–41).

However, when the Congress delayed an appropriation for the UNU, latent doubts in the minds of some Commission members about the purpose and functions of the university caused the Chairman to schedule another session on the subject for August 25, 1976. At this meeting it heard again from the Americans most concerned: Dr. James Hester, Rector of the University; Brock Brower, Executive Director of the American Council for the UNU; Frederick Lawton of the Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs;

and John Richardson, Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs.

Commission members raised hard, basic questions: Is the UNU not biting off more than it can chew? Would it not be a healthier institution if it were forced, like many American universities, to raise funds annually, instead of relying on an endowment provided by governments? To whom would the university be responsible? Who were its clients? Would its council members not reflect the official views of their countries instead of being genuinely independent? Was its academic freedom assured? Could its work not be better done by existing institutions? Why should the United States be giving money to a United Nations University when American universities needed support?

Writing to the Commission after the meeting Mr. Brower said: "I often use pages 38–41 from the Commission's *Twelfth Report* to explain the realistic case for the University. Now I have an even better addendum." Months later Dr. Hester acknowledged to the Chairman that the questioning of the Commission had helped him to redefine his thinking on, and presentation of, the needs of the UNU. At the meeting itself, he was able to satisfy the Commission on most points. His appeal for U.S. support was strongly supported by the Department officials present and particularly by Mr. Richardson. Expressing the view of the official in charge of our government's international educational and cultural affairs, Mr. Richardson said:

> It seems obvious to me that it would be unfortunate for the government not to participate in this institution, which seems to me to express our values, our aspirations in a reasonably functional way. There are all kinds of risks. That's true of every institution. But from a cultural relations point of view, I believe those rare institutions which give hope of pursuing the aspirations we as a country have for the world should not be discouraged by the United States when others, such as a principal ally, Japan, are willing to put more into it than we are. The doubts expressed by this Commission are understandable, but I can tell you that this institution will do more for our cultural relations, for expressing our values to the world, and for developing relations among those constructive-

ly motivated to build a more orderly and just world than most other things we are likely to do.

The Commissioners largely agreed with Mr. Richardson. They further noted:

- That the United States was on record as supporting the institution and that Congress had authorized a financial contribution. The United States had thus made a commitment which should be honored.

- That the U.S. appropriation (of $10 million) would not be a recurring obligation; it should be made as a contribution to international goodwill.

- That the United States had encouraged Japan to take the leadership it had taken in the UNU and should now back it up. Our proposed contribution is a small price to pay in support of an important ally.

In light of these considerations, the Commission agreed that its official records and its annual report should show that the Commission continues to recommend U.S. financial support for the UNU. At the same time it agreed that the record should show that the Commission had doubts about the future success of the university, some intellectual reservations about its purpose, and had recommended U.S. support fully cognizant of the risks involved.

As this report goes to press, there is an expectation that Congress will appropriate $10 million for the UNU. The Commission does not anticipate that it will deal with this subject further.

Appraisal of On-Going Programs

The second part of the Commission's mandate is to appraise the effectiveness of programs carried out pursuant to the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act. Accordingly, it traditionally reviews each year a certain number of ongoing programs—usually

those of the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. This year it looked into the three discussed immediately below.

Exchanges With Africa

In recent years sub-Saharan Africa has assumed growing importance in American consciousness and in American foreign policy. Reflecting, if not precisely contributing to, this conclusion were two developments of special concern to our Commission:

- A growing awareness in the United States that the cultural heritage of 23 million of its citizens lies in Africa;
- A dramatic growth in the number of African students studying in American universities. In 1973, 12,000 of the 175,000 foreign students in the United States (or 7 percent) came from Africa; in 1975, 25,000 of 178,000 (or 14 percent) came from Africa.

The Commission felt it was time to acquaint itself with our exchange programs with Africa.

At a meeting on August 25, 1976, it heard testimony from: James Relph, Director of African Programs in the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs; Mrs. Mary Brady, a consultant to the Bureau who had recently completed a study of the reactions of 60 former African participants in the Department's International Visitor Program; and Jerome Vogel, Executive Director of a program of private exchanges, Operation Crossroads Africa.

After talking with these experts, the Commission concluded that the Department's African program, though very small in comparison to the entire private U.S.-Africa exchange effort, is well conceived and effective. The Department's expenditure of $4.5 million in fiscal year 1977 to assure the exchange of 1,000 elites, of whom 70 percent were African, seemed to us reasonable. Its emphasis on grants to African leaders and to American professors—leaving undergraduate

student exchange to private organizations—seemed to us sensible. Its adaptation of its programs to current conditions and problems—e.g., more attention to South African programs (where 70 percent of the grantees were African), more grants to francophone countries, increased emphasis on cooperation with private institutions—seemed to us sound. We make no specific recommendations.

Exchanges With the People's Republic of China

The change of leadership in the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) was the event which persuaded the Commission to update its knowledge on our exchanges with the P.R.C. We wished to see whether significant new attitudes toward cultural relations with the United States, which might work for good or ill, had developed since we last reviewed our China programs in 1975.

We returned to the subject on November 4, 1976. Our witnesses were three people who have been intimately associated with our exchanges with the People's Republic: David Hitchcock, Director of the Office of East Asian and Pacific Programs of CU; Arthur Rosen, President of the U.S. National Committee on U.S.-China Relations; and Anne Keatley, Staff Director of the Committee on Scholarly Communications with the People's Republic of China.

The testimony of these specialists on U.S.-China relations indicated that the death of Chairman Mao and the subsequent change in China's leadership had not produced any basic change in the Chinese philosophy on exchanges with the United States nor any appreciable alteration in the volume of grantees, which had averaged some 14 groups a year. (Some months after our meeting, the Chinese agreed to a total of 21 exchanges in 1977.) The most encouraging sign from China is a gradual increase in the number of "non-facilitated" visits of Americans to the P.R.C., now estimated to total 12,000 to 15,000 Americans since 1972. There have been, on the contrary, very few private visits by Chinese to this country.

This situation reemphasizes what seems to us a central fact of China's exchange policy: The selection of scholars and others to come to the United States is based on political, rather than scholarly, considerations. This helps to explain why the People's Republic is unlikely to expand its exchange program with us until progress is made toward the normalization of the political relationship. Under the circumstances, there is no immediate need for a dramatic increase in the funds the Department awards the two cooperating committees (in fiscal year 1977, $330,000 to the Committee on Scholarly Exchange and $130,000 to the U.S. National Committee). Nevertheless, if its overall appropriation is increased in fiscal year 1978, CU plans to set aside additional funds to help support an enlarged program should the Chinese agree to an expansion.

Although the numbers involved in our official exchanges are small, the results appear to have been excellent. As Mr. Hitchcock put it:

> Our programs have served our national interest as an active and visible symbol of improved relations and have demonstrated the ability of both societies to interact in mutually beneficial ways. The exchanges have also served the interests of individual participants and the communities they represent by increasing their knowledge, which is then disseminated through reports, articles, etc. The exchanges have thus stimulated American interest in the P.R.C. The Department of State has every reason to be pleased with the programs as they have developed.

The problems and possible improvements in the programs remain numerous but are not new. We would like to see the exchanges become more substantive, of longer term, and cover a wider variety of fields, particularly in the social sciences and humanities; but we have had limited success in getting the Chinese to accept delegations in fields of American interest. The establishment of continuing individual or institutional relationships or cooperative research have not been realized to the extent we would like. Itineraries and programs of U.S. delegations in China have been somewhat superficial and restricted geographically. It

is difficult to learn from the Chinese how they react to our society, probably because each delegation is accompanied by an official "interpreter." Finally, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the two committees to raise money in the private sector as the initial excitement of renewed contact with the People's Republic wears off. The Commission regrets this development and hopes that efforts will be made to enlist non-government support for an expanded program of exchanges, with emphasis on the arts and humanities.

One interesting related sidelight to emerge from our discussion was the fact that the United States is not doing enough to promote study about China. In 1976 there were some 67 National Defense and Education Act centers for international language and area studies in the United States, of which 15 were East Asia centers. But we are undoubtedly going to need more people with expertise on Chinese society to deal with the problems accompanying the expected substantial increase of interaction between the United States and the P.R.C. Our experts suggested that the situation might call for an enormous effort, particularly at precollegiate and college levels, to train not only Sinologists but also students in business and law. We agree that our developing relationship with the largest country in the world recommends that this matter receive the serious attention of government and the academic community.

Apart from this suggestion, we have no recommendation which is related to U.S.-China exchanges. It is our impression that the relationship between the Department and the two agencies which work with it in this field is a rare and distinguished example of cooperation between government and private organizations, that both are well aware of the problems and potential of U.S.-China exchange, and that they are working well together to solve the problems and realize the potential.

International Athletic Programs

The controversy at the Olympic Games in Montreal occasioned by the expulsion of the team from Taiwan was the culmination of a series of incidents dating back to the Olympic disaster in Munich which strongly implied that international athletic competitions created more ill-will than international understanding. Even before Montreal, at its meeting of May 16, 1976, the Commission had agreed that it should look into the role of athletics in international exchange and U.S. participation in such activities. The Montreal affair strengthened its resolve. As soon after the Olympics as it could marshall a representative group of experts on the subject, the Commission held hearings.

The meeting took place in Washington on November 4, 1976. Thanks to the advice and assistance of Robert Jones, Director of the Office of International Athletic Programs of CU, we secured the participation of three outstanding specialists on international athletics: Dr. Tenley Albright, former Olympic figure skating champion, member of the Executive Board of the U.S. Olympic Committee and of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports; Robert Kane, former Olympic runner and vice president of the U.S. Olympic Committee (who was subsequently elected its president); and Dr. Carl Troester, Secretary General of the International Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation. Robert Jones and John Richardson, Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs, represented the State Department.

Our expert witnesses, former competitors in international sporting events, argued persuasively that athletes themselves are nonpolitical or apolitical, quickly establish rapport with their counterparts from other countries, and generate mutual respect through competing against each other. They conceded that there is no way to keep nationalism out of international competition and thought it useless to try; nevertheless, they felt it was in our national interest to continue to participate for the reasons suggested above and be-

cause events like the Olympic Games enable the United States to demonstrate its own democratic values. They strongly rejected the boycott of international competition as a political weapon.

While the Commission understands and sympathizes with the position of its expert witnesses on this latter point, we also recognize that there is justification for an opposing point of view: i.e., that there may be times when the U.S. national interest is best served by its refusal to participate officially in international events which violate our traditional belief in the free flow of people and ideas. We hope to examine this knotty philosophical problem at a later date. In the meantime, we deplore politicization of international athletic competitions and urge our officials to do all in their power to prevent such developments.

Mr. Richardson and Mr. Jones confirmed from their experience the value of sports exchange as a method of establishing communication with other peoples. They see the Department's role as a modest one: to advise the President and the Secretary of State; to coordinate activities; to sponsor directly a few particularly useful individuals or groups going abroad; and above all to stimulate, assist, and counsel private sports exchanges.

CU's budget for sports in fiscal year 1976 was $223,802. The Office of International Athletic Programs (IAP) operated with only $82,500, mainly as "seed money" to encourage international programming by private groups. The additional official exchanges were funded by CU's geographic bureaus. CU's overall budget for this activity averaged much higher in the 1960's, reaching a peak of $557,058 in 1966. It fell to a low of $83,000 in 1971, gradually increasing to the fiscal year 1976 total of $223,802. The Bureau has requested $175,000 in fiscal year 1978 for IAP alone. If this amount is received, the overall CU expenditure would no doubt surpass $300,000.

Even so, U.S. Government support of athletic exchanges is dwarfed by that of Eastern European coun-

tries, who look upon them as a primary means to influence developing nations. To illustrate: The U.S.S.R. reported at a recent UNESCO conference that in the last fiscal year it had sent 20,000 "technical specialists" in sports to other countries, mainly in the Third World. Between 1970 and 1974 the German Democratic Republic exchanged 5,644 delegations of 72,738 athletes with 66 countries. In contrast our official programs sent abroad 117 sports teams and 535 coaches between 1952 and 1974.

The Commission regrets that CU's overall budget does not permit it to compete with the programs of the Eastern European countries—nor indeed to support athletic exchanges to the extent it would like. But it believes that CU is doing what it can do with limited funds and is correct to use these funds primarily to stimulate activity by the private sector and to send American coaches abroad. If CU's budget is increased, the Commission would favor increased funding of this potentially useful program, but as things now stand, it has no other recommendation.

IV. The Commission in 1976–77

Membership and Related Matters

In its last two reports the Commission has alluded to the importance of full membership, maintaining that vacancies diminish its range of combined experience and thus its ability to deal constructively with the wide range of issues it considers. Its position on this point has not changed.

We therefore report with regret that the Commission has not been at full strength for any part of this reporting period. The vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Leo Cherne in March 1976 has not been filled; nor has a second vacancy caused by the resignation on December 30, 1976, of James A.S. Leach to become a member of Congress.

Mr. Leach joined the Commission on July 23, 1975. His background as a student at the London School of Economics, as a Foreign Service officer, as a member of the White House staff, and as a politician fitted him well to serve on the Commission. We acknowledge here our appreciation of Mr. Leach's contribution to our work and regret that his service with us was limited by the turn of events.

It is also worth noting that the terms of Mr. Marks, Mrs. Hauser, Mr. Smith, Miss Brann, and Mr. Burress have expired. All five have, however, continued to serve pending reappointment or replacement thus assuring that the work of the Commission could continue without interruption.

In speaking of the Commission's activities in 1976–77, we wish to acknowledge with appreciation the

cooperation of Mr. John Richardson and of Congressmen Clement Zablocki, Dante Fascell, and John Slack.

When Mr. Richardson left government service early in 1977, he had been Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs longer than anyone in history—8 years. Thus he obviously brought much-needed continuity to the conduct of the Department's exchange programs; but more importantly he brought them to a high level of effectiveness. In so doing, he gained the respect of his colleagues, of the private institutions involved in international exchange, and of the Congress. This was reflected in appropriations for CU, which were steadily increased throughout his tenure as Assistant Secretary. Where the Commission was concerned, Mr. Richardson was unfailingly helpful and understanding. He regularly attended Commission meetings and participated actively in its deliberations; he supplied, or had his associates supply, the Commission with information they required for their various reviews; he replied courteously to all Commission recommendations and acted on those which he felt were possible and warranted. The Commission—and indeed the wide educational exchange community—are much in his debt.

Congressmen Zablocki, Fascell, and Slack have, in spite of their many responsibilitie always been accessible to the Chairman of the Commission and have shown an interest in its work which the Commission has found heartening. We note here with special appreciation Mr. Slack's attention to the Commission's views on the budget for exchange of persons, Mr. Fascell's active interest in the Commission's recommendations on a Western Hemisphere Center and on U.S. implementation of the Helsinki agreement, and Mr. Zablocki's support in arranging for the Commission's report on exchanges with countries of the Middle East to be reproduced as a congressional document of the House International Relations Committee.

Meetings

The Commission met seven times in the period covered by this report. In the preceding year it held nine meetings. The contrast in numbers suggests that the Commission was less active this year and considered fewer subjects than in the previous year; but this statistical evidence is misleading. In previous years, the Commission more often than not met for just half a day. This year five of the seven meetings lasted a day or more, and the number of issues considered surpassed those taken up in 1975–76. The schedule of meetings and the main agenda items of each follow:

Date	*Main Agenda Items*
May 17, 1976	The Commission's *Twelfth Report*
August 25, 1976	U.S. Support for the United Nations University
	The U.S. Role in UNESCO
	U.S. Exchanges With Africa
November 4, 1976	Role of Sports in International Exchange
	Exchanges With the People's Republic of China
February 17, 1977	Currency Convertibility Program To Encourage Sales Abroad of U.S. Cultural Materials
	A Western Hemisphere Center
	Cultural Relations With Canada
February 18–19, 1977	Meeting in Ottawa on U.S.–Canadian Relations
April 25, 1977	A Western Hemisphere Center
	Report on the Ottawa Meeting
June 13, 1977	Final Statement on Western Hemisphere Center
	The Commission's *Thirteenth Report*

All of the meetings were open to the public. Although there were moments when Commission members would have preferred to speak privately on certain issues, the presence of observers at the meetings did not seriously inhibit discussion. The number of observers who availed themselves of their privilege to attend Commission sessions varied in proportion to public interest in agenda items. Only a few were present for the essentially inhouse discussion of what should be covered in the Commission's annual report, while over 30 were present at the Commission's joint meeting with the Government Committee on International Book and Library Programs, at which the establishment of a currency convertibility program was examined. The Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, or his deputy, and other officials of the Department were present at all meetings.

This year all meetings but one were held in Washington. The exception was the conference in Ottawa with Canadian officials. This marks the third successive year in which the Commission, as a body, has held one meeting outside the continental limits of the United States; it journeyed to Mexico City in 1975 and to Honolulu in 1974. The experiences have proved valuable in broadening the perspective members have on exchange programs, in exposing them to the views of foreign officials concerned with international cultural affairs, and in acquainting them with the problems and potentials of specific programs. We hope that the practice can be continued in the years ahead.

Activities of Individual Members

As in previous years, members of the Commission and staff engaged individually in travel and other activities in the Commission's interest. Some of these have been referred to in earlier pages of this report, but we repeat them here, along with those not elsewhere noted, so that a complete record of these extra-meeting activities is readily accessible.

• Mr. William French Smith accompanied the Chairman on a 3-week study trip to the Middle East in November 1976.

• Mrs. Beryl Milburn undertook, in March 1977, a 2-week study in Latin America of the prospects for a Western Hemisphere Center.

• Mrs. Rita Hauser traveled, in August 1976, to Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and Taiwan to investigate our official exchange programs. In each post she also lectured under the auspices of the United States Information Agency (USIA), including in her topics of discussion the value and future of educational exchange programs. The principal observation which stemmed from her investigation was that "it would be very helpful for the Commission to undertake a thorough review of the Fulbright program almost 30 years after its creation." A report on Mrs. Hauser's trip is carried in the minutes of the Commission's 85th meeting, August 25, 1976.

• Mr. Richard Burress, on a private trip to Tokyo and Taipei in June 1976, discussed our exchange programs with American and local officials and had an informative talk with Dr. Hester, Rector of the United Nations University. Mr. Burress's helpful observations on the United Nations University and on U.S. exchange programs with Japan and Taiwan are carried in the minutes of the Commission's 85th meeting.

• Mr. William E. Weld, the Commission's Staff Director, accompanied the Chairman and Mr. Smith on the trip to the Middle East.

• Ms. Terry Scully, the new editor of *Exchange* magazine, attended two conferences in pursuit of authors and articles for the Commission's publication: the national conference of the National Council for Community Services to International Visitors (COSERV) held in Salt Lake City in October 1976; and the national conference of the National Association of Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) in New Orleans in May 1977. She

also participated, in April, in a meeting organized by the International Association of Business Communicators, where she sought new ideas for the design of *Exchange*.

• The Commission's Chairman, Leonard H. Marks, represented the Commission on the following occasions:

a. He was a keynote speaker at the annual meeting of People-to-People International (Kansas City, October 1976).

b. He gave the main address at the final meeting of participants in the program of the Council of International Programs (Washington, D.C., June, 1976).

c. He testified before the International Relations Committee of the House (July 1, 1976) and before the Subcommittee on Operations of the House International Relations Committee (June 1977), on reorganization of our international information, educational, and cultural programs.

d. He testified twice before the Subcommittee on State, Justice, Commerce and Judiciary of the House Appropriations Committee in support of an increased budget for international exchange.

e. He met personally with President Ford; with the President's Counselor, Philip Buchen; and with Vice President Rockefeller's assistant, Governor Raymond P. Shafer. When the new Administration was installed, he discussed the Commission's activities with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and with the new Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, Joseph Duffey. He also conferred about Commission reports with Senators Frank Church, Claiborne Pell, and Hubert Humphrey and with Congressmen John Slack, Elford Cederberg, Clement J. Zablocki, and Dante B. Fascell. The purpose of each visit was to inform the officials about the work of the Commission. President Ford acknowledged Mr. Marks' visit with

a letter commending the Commission on its work (Appendix D).

f. In support of the Commission's position on the U.S. role in UNESCO: he attended the meeting of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO (New York, December 8, 1976); he addressed the Inter-American Press Association at its annual conference (Williamsburg, Va., October 12, 1976); he met both in Paris and in Washington with the Director General of UNESCO, Monsieur M'Bow; he spoke to UPI editors in Washington on February 16, 1977; and he attended the Third World and Press Freedom Conference in New York on May 12–13, 1977.

g. In support of the Commission's position on the importance of Basket III of the Helsinki agreement: he wrote an op-ed article for the *Washington Post* (August 1, 1976); he represented the United States at a conference in Hamburg organized by the Bergerdorfer Gespraechskreis, at which he debated the Director of Moscow's Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies, Georgi Arbatov, (November 1976); he helped to organize, and participated in, an Aspen Institute conference in Berlin (April 1977); he chaired a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association in New York at which the Soviet exile, Vladimir Bukovsky, spoke (March 1977); he testified before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (May 24, 1977); he testified before the International Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on "The Role and Control of International Information and Communications" (June 8, 1977); and he spoke at the meeting of the State Department's "Secretary's Open Forum" on "Helsinki to Belgrade: Where Are We Going?" (June 9, 1977.)

h. He led a 3-member Commission delegation composed of himself and Messrs. Smith and Weld on a 3-week trip to the Middle East.

Exchange Magazine

A year ago the Commission reported that its quarterly periodical, *International Educational and Cultural Exchange*, was becoming "an increasingly authoritative and influential periodical in its field"; yet we suspect that previous annual reports have not fully reflected the importance we attach to this continuing Commission activity in pursuance of its mandate to "make reports to the public in the United States and abroad to develop a better understanding of and support for the programs authorized by this Act."

With the appearance of its Spring 1977 number, *Exchange* completed 12 years of continuous publication. For 11 years it had only two editors, each of whom was responsible for significant innovations in the magazine's content and/or format. Its third editor, Ms. Terry D. Scully, assumed the editorship in August 1976. Already she has, under the guidance of the Commission and its Staff Director, followed the creative pattern set by her predecessor. The following developments of the last year are illustrative.

- The concept of "thematic" issues has been expanded. The Summer 1976 number was a "Bicentennial" number, "America at 200." The Winter 1977 number was written entirely by or about non-Americans to show how the United States can profit from the experiences of others. Planned for the future are numbers which will have a core of articles on a particular subject: one on sports in international exchange; one on communications; one on Latin America.

- *Exchange* has been related more closely to other Commission activities, for instance: the recommendations of the Marks/Smith trip to the Middle East were covered in the Spring 1977 number, and the same number featured comment on the Commission's meeting with Canadian officials. The Summer 1977 number will have a core of articles on sports in international exchange to supplement the Commission's hearings

on that subject; and the Fall number will feature the Commission's recommendation on a Western Hemisphere Center.

• A survey of its readers has been completed to assure that only those with a genuine interest in *Exchange* receive it. The new distribution list has been computerized for more economical and efficient mailing and revising.

• Simultaneously, a promotional campaign has been undertaken to attract new, influential readers. An opportunity to subscribe has been (or will be) addressed to foreign student advisors on U.S. campuses, American Fulbright grantees, foreign Fulbright grantees (selectively through Binational Commissions abroad), and college administrators on the mailing list of the American Council on Education. When this exercise is completed, *Exchange* will have a readership of 8,000 to 10,000 influential activists, at home and abroad, in the fields of the Commission's concern.

The Commission regularly receives from individuals or organizations testimony that it is being read. Typical comments were carried in our last report. This year something new has been added to the encouraging evidence that *Exchange* has become a recognized source of information on international educational and cultural exchange. Its articles are now widely indexed and/or abstracted. It is frequently cited in Agnes Tysse's *International Education: The American Experience*, a comprehensive bibliography of published articles on international exchange. And five other specialized bibliographies have requested—and received—permission to abstract articles from it. They are: *United States Political Science Documents; Ethnic Studies Bibliography; Sociological Abstracts; Language and Language Behavior Abstracts;* and *The World's Students in the United States: A Review and Evaluation of Research on Foreign Students, 1967–1974*.

Much of the material which has appeared in *Exchange* will thus be called to the attention of stu-

dents, scholars, researchers, and administrators, and its usefulness will clearly be enhanced.

Twelfth Report

Since reports of advisory commissions have an unfortunate tendency to be stillborn, or at best to be glanced at by those few immediately affected, the Commission is pleased to report that its *Twelfth Regular Report* to the Congress seems to have attracted some attention.

Of the 2,500 copies distributed since its publication in October 1976, several hundred were used to fill unsolicited requests, many generated by a State Department press release announcing its publication. Among those asking for copies were: the Inter-Cultural Studies Information Service, the Governor's Commission on the United Nations of the State of Wisconsin, and the Government Documents Librarian of the Georgia Institute of Technology. It was specifically referred to at conferences by Kenneth Holland, former President of the Institute of International Education, and by the Secretary of State for Canada. It was noted and quoted in the "Newsletter" of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (Vol. 28, No. 7); and it was summarized briefly in a State Department publication, "Recent Releases: Selected Information Materials."

Senator Fulbright wrote the Chairman, "Thank you so much for sending me the *Twelfth Report* of the Advisory Commission. . .I think it is the best one you have ever issued."

The Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs wrote, "I have read the *Twelfth Report* of the Commission with interest, profit and respect."

Our Ambassador to Mexico: "Thank you for sending the Commission's Twelfth Report . . . The recommendations you make are thoughtful and, in some cases, of definite urgency."

The Executive Director of the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), which operates exchanges with Eastern Europe: "It is my pleasure to congratulate you . . . on the *Twelfth Report* . . . In particular, the section on Eastern Europe and the USSR seems to me one of the finest policy statements I have seen on the subject. All of us who are concerned with such exchanges are indebted to you for that eloquent and persuasive analysis. . ."

The Coordinator of International Student Programs, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater: "[The *Twelfth Report*] is very comprehensive, informative, and has a great educational value. I personally feel that every person connected with international education must read this classical report."

V. The Future of the Commission

Earlier this year the future of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs was uncertain, its continuance or elimination depending upon the results of President Carter's survey of all advisory bodies. We thoroughly approve the President's efforts to streamline government operations. We commend specifically his intention to terminate those advisory commissions which no longer serve a useful purpose. Indeed, we believe that this principle should be carried to its logical conclusion: that when a determination has been made to retain an advisory body, everything possible should be done to assure that it perform effectively the function for which it was established.

As this report goes to press, we have been informed that the Secretary of State has recommended to the President that our advisory commission be retained. Viewing the decision as objectively as we can, we believe that it is correct. Our experience of the past year confirms our earlier judgment that an independent body, properly constituted and utilized, can make a useful contribution to the conduct of this country's educational and cultural exchange activities.

But as we have said in earlier reports, the Commission will deal most effectively with the wide range of problems it faces when it has a full and qualified membership. We therefore recommend that the President and the Senate exercise as soon as conditions permit their legislated power of appointment so as to bring the Commission to its full numerical complement and its full technical capability.

In this connection it is relevant to note that the Administration is engaged in a study of how this country's "public diplomacy" should be conducted. The impetus for this study came largely from the Commission-instigated report, *International Information, Education and Cultural Relations: Recommendations for the Future*. Since its release on March 15, 1975, several variants on its recommendations have been proposed, and many opinions in support or in opposition have been heard. The one consistent thread running through all of these is the suggestion that an amalgamation be effected—somewhere, somehow—between the cultural activities of the USIA and the cultural exchange activities of the Department of State.

In the probable event of a reorganization of USIA and CU, it seems to us logical that the functions of the Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs and the Advisory Commission on Information be reviewed. Our tentative recommendation, pending final resolution of the problem, is that if the operating agencies are combined, then so should be their respective advisory commissions. We made this recommendation 2 years ago, in our *Eleventh Report*, even going so far as to suggest the composition of a new advisory body. We refrain now from pronouncing on the shape of a new, combined advisory commission, since it should be dictated by the stated mission and the structure of the new operating agency. What we do recommend, if USIA and CU are joined, is an alteration in the structure of the two advisory bodies which will correspond to the new organizational pattern of the Executive Branch.

VI. Appendices

Appendix A

Letter of Transmittal to Congress Accompanying a Special Report, *Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange Between the United States and Countries in the Middle East.*

THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL
AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

Office of the Chairman March 21, 1977

The Honorable
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Speaker
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Speaker:

Section 107 of Public Law 87-256 (The Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961) instructs the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs to submit to the Congress not only an annual report but "such other reports as they deem appropriate." Since no other independent agency advises on our governmental international educational and cultural programs, these reports are unique.

In accordance with that mandate I am submitting the attached report: *Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange between the United States and Countries in the Middle East*. It is based upon a month-long trip which William French Smith, a colleague on the Commission, Mr. W. E. Weld, Jr., our Staff Director, and I made in November 1976 to Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Iran, and Turkey. It records our observations and recommendations on the problems and potential for educational and cultural exchange between these countries and the United States.

This special report is a sequel to one submitted to

the Congress on December 29, 1975 on the effects of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the cultural relations of the United States and Eastern Europe. It is prompted by the tremendous importance the Middle East has assumed in U.S. foreign policy as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the energy crisis precipitated by the oil producing states, the Cyprus issue, and related developments.

The purpose of our trip was to ascertain how, or whether, educational and cultural exchange might contribute to the promotion of better relations between the United States and countries of the Middle East. The report specifically addresses aspects of this question and concludes that exchange programs, effectively planned and conducted, can contribute to this end. I have long been convinced that, in an increasingly interdependent world, cultural and educational exchange becomes an important factor in diplomacy by helping to establish enduring relationships between peoples. My visit to the Middle East confirmed this view.

It is also my view that although political and economic differences exist between the United States and many countries of the Middle East, the climate for educational exchange is most favorable at this time. Each country we visited is sending large numbers of its students to the United States and welcomes American teachers and professors to its universities. This receptivity to American education and culture presents us with an opportunity to construct, through judicious use of exchange programs, mutual understanding between the United States and Middle East nations which will endure in spite of any temporary politico-economic crises.

The report does not recommend a large increase in U.S. Government spending in support of exchanges; instead it argues that the State Department and other concerned agencies can generally be most helpful by facilitating projects initiated by the Middle East States, and by stimulating more privately-supported efforts. If

the Department's appropriation request of $70.5 million for fiscal 1978 is approved, the Department plans augmented programs for the area which would adequately complement these other efforts.

The present U.S. Government-sponsored programs are, on the whole, well conceived and well executed; but they can be improved by:

1. refining the recruiting and selection process of American grantees to assure that all who are selected are fully qualified to serve overseas;
2. providing more adequate counselling for both American and foreign grantees;
3. cooperating with officials in Egypt and Turkey to reduce the "brain drain" of their specialists;
4. more selective utilization in the Middle East of Cultural Presentations (i.e., U.S. performing arts companies);
5. increasing the emphasis on the teaching of English in the Middle East;
6. taking steps to redress the imbalance between Americans going to the Middle East (very few) and Middle Easterners coming to the United States (very many), thus improving the "mutuality" of the exchange effort;
7. establishing a program whereby Middle Eastern professors who have studied in this country can return for "sabbatical years."

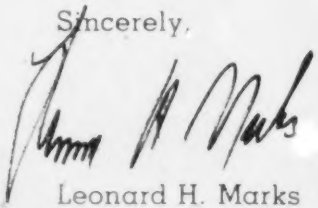
The report makes specific suggestions on how these improvements may be realized in each country visited.

Another object of our trip was to determine whether the American-sponsored universities in the region—the American University of Beirut, the American University in Cairo, and Robert College in Istanbul—continue to serve a useful purpose and merit continued U.S. Government support. It appears that none is likely to play in the future an important regional role in Middle Eastern education, but that each represents a valuable American presence within its own country.

Since this report deals with an aspect of U.S. relations with countries which are presently of great importance to the United States, I should be pleased to have it published as a House document and distributed to members of the Congress, as has been the case with previous special reports of the Advisory Commission.

Mr. William French Smith concurs in these observations and joins in the report.

Sincerely,



Leonard H. Marks

Appendix B

Letter to the Secretary of State Outlining Commission Observations on U.S. Cultural Exchanges With Canada.

THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL
AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

Office of the Chairman April 26, 1977

The Secretary
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Section 106(b)(1) of Public Law 87–256, the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, instructs this Advisory Commission to "formulate and recommend to the President policies for exercising his authority under this Act and (to) appraise the effectiveness of programs carried out pursuant to it." Since the President has delegated to the Department of State primary responsibility for the conduct of this country's exchange programs, I address to you this report on a meeting which the Commission held in Ottawa on February 18, 1977, with the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Donald Jamieson, the Secretary of State of Canada, John Roberts, and their colleagues who deal with international educational and cultural matters.

The purpose of our meeting was to examine ways in which educational and cultural exchange can better contribute to mutual understanding between our two countries, and to consider constructively any problems which may stand in the way of this goal. We reviewed existing programs for the exchange of students, professors and performing arts groups; Canadian and American patterns of education; cultural matters of mutual concern, such as the importation of books, magazines,

films and television programs; and multilateral questions like the Helsinki agreement, the activities of UNESCO and the formation of a United Nations University, in which both countries have an interest. Our discussion touched specifically upon recent Canadian legislation affecting international exchange and on the relationship between both governmental and private groups engaged in the field. The Commission's principal observations stemming from examination of these subjects are outlined in the following paragraphs.

1. Although close political, economic and social ties exist between Canada and the United States, there are nevertheless differences between Americans and Canadians. These stem largely from our differing historical, economic and social backgrounds; and they have led to contemporary differences in political structures and attitudes, in cultural aspirations and opportunities. Far from deploring their differences from Americans, Canadians cherish them and wish to maintain them, for they provide Canada with a specific Canadian identity, which it is eager to retain in the face of the enormous penetration of their country by ideas, attitudes and artifacts from the United States. Our Commission believes it is important to continued good relations between our two countries that Americans understand this Canadian attitude.

2. Great care must be exercised on both sides of the border to make sure that the Canadian Government's legitimate aspiration to provide "a Canadian choice" for its people in the selection of cultural products, and the American Government's legitimate desire to provide the widest possible market for its cultural products, do not lead to recriminatory or discriminatory legislation which is damaging to Canadian-American relations.

Our Commission quite understands why the Canadian Government has taken steps to regulate the

flow of cultural materials from the United States and appreciates Canadian efforts to stimulate the creative energies of its own people. At the same time it questions whether these measures will produce the desired result. It is a fact of international life that competition exists in the distribution of cultural as well as other products; and experience has shown that the quality of the product rather than the nationality of the producer determines its acceptance in the foreign market. The success in the United States of such Canadian artists as Saul Bellow and Robert Goulet, and of such products as the film "The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz," are cases in point.

The Commission further believes that Canada profits from its close proximity to the United States, in that the United States pays developmental costs for encyclopedias, reference books, television programs, musical and dance productions and the like, and makes them available to Canadians at reasonable cost. The Commission believes it would be unfortunate for both sides if these transactions were inhibited.

Finally, the Commission favors unfettered international educational and cultural exchange, and is therefore opposed in principle to any measures, at home or abroad, which restrict it. Thus while it regrets Canadian legislation to limit in Canada the sale of American products, the performance of American artists, the viewing of U.S. television programs, or the advertising of American products in Canadian periodicals, it understands the philosophical principles behind the legislation and does not recommend that the United States adopt similar measures which would restrict the importation of Canadian cultural and educational materials.

What the Commission does recommend is a continuation of a calm, frank approach by both countries to a resolution of problems which arise. Neither side need abandon the philosophical, commercial or cultural principles which it espouses. Candid discussion

and a spirited defense of each country's perceived self-interest can, we believe, lead to a realistic settlement of these issues.

3. In spite of the large volume of private exchanges between Canada and the United States, an official U.S. program is desirable. In fact, given the importance of the U.S.-Canadian relationship, the Commission recommends that consideration be given to increasing the State Department's budget for exchanges, particularly with a view to making possible more grants to Canadians under the Department's International Visitor Program.

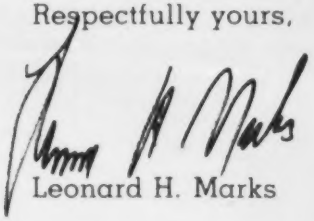
4. Our final observation, though very general, is perhaps the most significant of all. It is that, in spite of the enormous possibilities for misunderstanding which exist between two such close—yet such different—neighbors, Canadians and Americans agree on basic principles and values and are striving intelligently to resolve their differences.

The Commission commends recent efforts of the Canadian Government to make its country better known in the United States. It is reassured by the statements of its leaders that their efforts to provide a "Canadian choice" for Canadians do not represent a denial of the principle of free flow of information nor any discrimination against the Un ted States. It is encouraged by growing evidence that Americans are developing a sympathetic appreciation of Canada's desire to retain its own national identity. It is convinced that the maintenance of good relations between Canada and the United States is a top priority for the Canadian Government, as it is for the American Government, and that educational and cultural exchange can promote the mutual understanding both countries desire.

The Commission hopes that its exchange of views with Canadian officials has made a contribution to

this goal. Detailed Minutes of Commission's meetings in Ottawa have been prepared and will be submitted to the Congress and the State Department in accordance with the provisions of Section 107 of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961.

Respectfully yours,



Leonard H. Marks

c. c. The President
The Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
U.S. Embassy, Ottawa
Embassy of Canada, Washington, D.C.
The Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate
The Chairman, International Relations Committee, U.S. House of Representatives

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Appendix C

Commission Statement Relating to the United States and UNESCO.

THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL
AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

For information call:
William E. Weld, Jr.
Staff Director
(202) 632-2764

For Release
October 20, 1976

U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs Releases Statement Relating to the U.S. and UNESCO

Mr. Leonard Marks, Chairman of the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, released today the following statement of the Commission on the U.S. role in UNESCO.

During the past year the Advisory Commission has considered U.S. criticism of UNESCO resolutions which appear to have been dictated by political considerations rather than by purely cultural and scientific concerns.

In its review the Commission has been specifically impressed by the widespread criticism directed to the actions of UNESCO at its General Conference in November, 1974, where it adopted two resolutions affecting the Government of Israel. As a result of protests against these UNESCO resolutions, the Commission held hearings on the subject in January and February, 1975. At that time the Commission stated that it deplored the politicization of UNESCO, but did not believe that the best interests of the United States would be served by withholding support from the organization. The Commission then adopted a resolution urging that President Gerald Ford use his influence to persuade UNESCO to concentrate on its basic

objectives. This resolution was sent to the President and the appropriations committees of the Congress in April, 1975.

Because of the importance which the Commission attaches to the United States relationship to UNESCO, it has watched carefully developments in the organization during the past sixteen months and now notes that the UNESCO General Conference, to be held in Nairobi, Kenya, from October 26 to November 30, 1976 will include the discussion of a "Declaration of Principles" on the gathering and dissemination of news prepared by a UNESCO-organized committee of experts. This Declaration embodies limitations, which are unacceptable to the United States and to other Western nations, on the free dissemination of information and on the activities of press organizations. Although the declaration has not been officially approved by UNESCO, it would appear that considerable support has been given by UNESCO officials to the views expressed in the Declaration. This development confirms the suspicion of the Commission that UNESCO is tending to follow a political course rather than dedicating itself to the cultural, scientific, and educational pursuits contemplated by its charter.

On August 25, 1976, these issues were debated at a meeting of the Commission at which both official and private views were fully represented. As a result of this discussion, the Commission took the following position:

1. The Commission believes the United States should adjust its financial status in UNESCO so that it can participate fully in the General Conference at Nairobi, and should there vigorously oppose the Declaration of Principles relating to the dissemination of news and to the activities of the press.

2. The Commission recognizes that the Third World nations have been primarily responsible for the political resolutions introduced at UNESCO

meetings. It also recognizes that if there were no UNESCO, these nations would find other forums in which to advocate their politically-motivated objectives. Therefore, UNESCO remains a logical place to discuss them fully and frankly. Accordingly, the Commission recommends that the United States instruct its delegation to the General Conference at Nairobi to debate these questions on their merits, to assert firmly its views on the substance of these issues, and to reaffirm the U.S. conviction that the basic objectives of UNESCO are not served by converting it into a U.N. General Assembly.

3. In the event that these attitudes by Third World nations persist, the Commission will urge the Congress to give further consideration to the efficacy of U.S. participation in UNESCO and the projects it supports. It will recommend particularly that the Congress examine whether the U.S. could not use more productively in the promotion of bilateral educational and cultural exchange the approximately $30 million which is its current UNESCO assessment.

The Commission believes that the question of the politicization of UNESCO may very well determine whether the United States remains as a member of this U.N. organization. We therefore urge the U.S. delegation to the General Conference to express these views and alert the membership that future United States participation in UNESCO will to a large extent depend on the actions taken by that body in Nairobi.

Appendix D

Letter From President Ford to Chairman Leonard H. Marks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 18, 1976

Dear Mr. Marks:

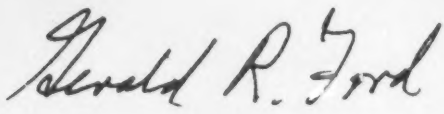
In your Twelfth Report to Congress, submitted in accordance with Section 107 of Public Law 87–256, you have described the principal projects of the Commission during the past year, and have identified policy considerations that require attention in the future. I commend you for your leadership and initiative in this vital area of foreign policy.

International Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs have played an important role in our relations with other countries throughout the world. These programs have afforded thousands of Americans the opportunity to study abroad, and have sponsored thousands of foreign students and professors for study in our colleges and universities. Changing economic and political conditions have not interrupted the flow in both directions, and the exchange has been an important factor in establishing mutual understanding.

I endorse your suggestion for Congressional review of the Fulbright Program during the next session in order to determine what changes would be required to meet contemporary needs. The report of your recent trip to the Gulf States is a case study which Congress might consider.

It is my hope that the Advisory Commission will continue to play an important role in charting the future course of this very vital and significant program for effective international understanding and goodwill.

Sincerely,



Mr. Leonard H. Marks
Chairman
The United States Advisory
Commission on International
Educational and Cultural
Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20520

Appendix E

Reports, Recommendations and Other Statements Issued by, or on Behalf of, the Commission Between May 1, 1976 and June 30, 1977.

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Reports, Recommendations and Other Statements
Issued by, or on Behalf of, the Commission
Between May 1, 1976 and June 30, 1977

1. The *Twelfth Report*, June 1976. (Printed and released in October 1976.)
2. Department of State Press Release, No. 512. "Release of the Twelfth Annual Report," (October 14, 1976.)
3. Four numbers of *International Educational and Cultural Exchange*, a quarterly periodical. (Vol. XII, Nos. 1–4.)
4. "Helsinki One Year Later: The Unfulfilled Promise." Article by Chairman Leonard H. Marks in the *Washington Post*, (August 1, 1976.)
5. Press Release, "U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs Releases Statement Relating to the U.S. and UNESCO," including text of Commission statement to Congress on U.S. role in UNESCO. (October 20, 1976.)
6. Telegram From Chairman Leonard H. Marks to the Honorable Clement J. Zablocki, Chairman, House International Relations Committee, recommending full U.S. participation in UNESCO. (February 16, 1977.)
7. Statement by Chairman Leonard H. Marks before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, in support of the appropriation request of the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. (February 28, 1977.)
8. *Notes on Educational and Cultural Exchange Between the United States and Countries in the Middle East*, a special report by members of the Commission on a trip to Egypt, Saudi Arabia,

Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Iran and Turkey. (March 21, 1977; reprinted by Congress as Executive Communication 1088 for the use of the House Committee on International Relations, June 2, 1977.)

9. Letter to the Secretary of State from Chairman Leonard H. Marks summarizing Commission recommendations on U.S. educational and cultural exchanges with Canada. (April 26, 1977.)

10. Statement by Chairman Leonard H. Marks before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, on U.S. implementation of the Helsinki agreement. (May 24, 1977.)

11. Statement by Chairman Leonard H. Marks before the International Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on, "The Role and Control of International Information and Communications." (June 8, 1977.)

12. Statement by Chairman Leonard H. Marks before the Subcommittee on Operations of the House International Relations Committee, on reorganization of government for the conduct of international information, educational and cultural affairs. (June 13, 1977.)

13. *Recommendation for the Establishment of a "Western Hemisphere Center,"* with covering letter sent by Chairman Leonard H. Marks to the President, the Secretary of State, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Chairman of the House Committee on International Relations. (June 15, 1977.)

14. The *Thirteenth Report,* June 30, 1977. (To be printed and released in August 1977.)

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